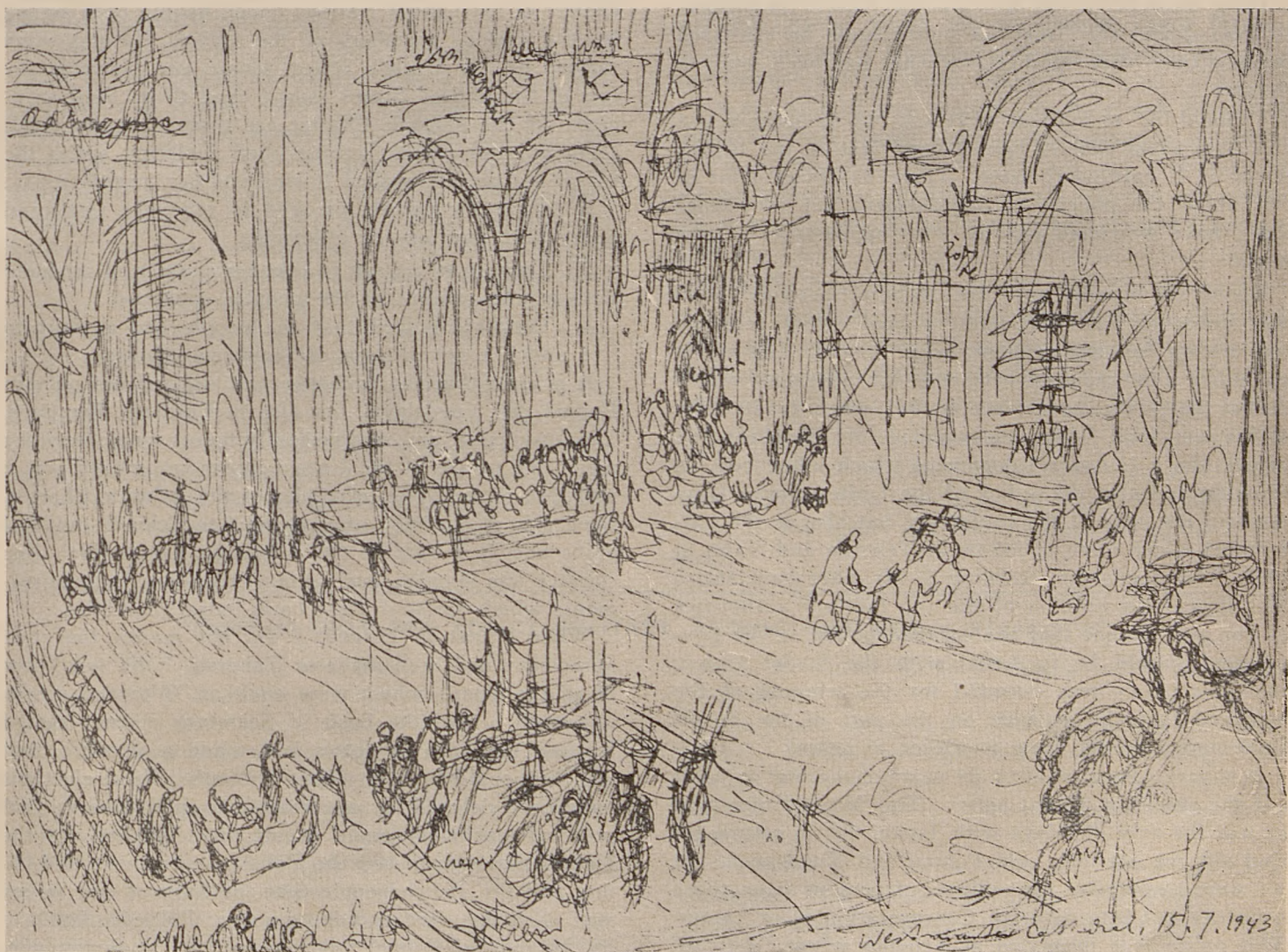


THE **POLISH REVIEW**

AND EAST EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

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Drawing by Felix Topolski

On the Sixth Anniversary of His Death.

SOLEMN MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR GENERAL WLADYSLAW SIKORSKI
IN WESTMINSTER CATHEDRAL IN LONDON, JULY 15, 1943.

"THERE IS ONLY ONE POLICY-MILITARY, ATOMIC & MORAL STRENGTH"

By *THE HON. ARTHUR BLISS LANE**

WE OWE a great debt of gratitude to Poland not only for what the Poles have contributed to our independence but what they have contributed to the achievements of the United States in the intellectual field, in the scientific field and industrial field. As we marvel at the courage of the Polish people and their adherence to their religion, we acquire the greatest respect and admiration and love for the Polish people.

I will be somewhat critical about the attitude of the United States toward Poland. Please don't consider this a political speech if I seem unduly critical of the administration, it is because it has been in power the longest. Both parties are at fault because in the last campaign, nothing constructive has been made to redeem the pledges to Poland and the American public must be criticized because they were apathetic to what has been done to Poland.

I should like to tell you what you can do because you can do a great deal to help Poland restore the liberty which it is entitled to have. There has been a lot of talk about the policies of appeasement but sometimes many have wondered exactly what appeasements were made.

About six months ago, Mr. Robert Sherwood, who was Roosevelt's adviser, wrote a book which tells the real reason for appeasement, why Poland, Yugoslavia and other countries were betrayed. Mr. Sherwood stated that at the Quebec conference in 1943, when the strategy of the war with Japan was planned, Mr. Hopkins had before him a top secret document which influenced his thinking and also the policy of the United States Government not only at the conference but also at the conferences which were to follow at Teheran and Yalta in 1945. This document according to Mr. Sherwood, states that it was the opinion of the top military authorities of our government that the cardinal policy of our government should be furthered with the Soviet Union, that this policy was essential for the winning of the war and that the attitude on the part of the Soviet Government would bring us closer to peace.

It is very easy now after six years of the war to point out the stupidity of that policy. The Soviet Union was at war for only 2½ days with Japan, but in return for that aid, we not only sold Poland and Yugoslavia, but we were responsible for millions of persons from those countries put into Siberian Concentration labor camps. This policy was intimated at Teheran where Churchill and Roosevelt met and where they agreed on two very important points. One had to do with Poland and the other with Yugoslavia. As for Poland, it was agreed that 130 thousand square miles of territory should be ceded to the Soviet Government and as for Yugoslavia, that Tito should be recalled as the de facto government in place of Michailovich who had been largely responsible for the overthrow of the pro-Hitler government in 1941.

The basic argument is that by agreeing to lopping off the Polish territory, our government violated the principles of the Atlantic Charter, and once we violated those principles, we gave Stalin the green light to go on violating it. How can we speak to him regarding the violation of the Yalta agreement in not holding free elections in Poland?

I should like to go back to the principles of the Atlantic Charter because they are forgotten by the people and the statesmen of the United States. Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt enunciated those principles. Some people said those documents were not binding upon the United States, but those principles were later embodied into a charter of the United Nations which having been signed by the various members of the United Nations were ratified by the United States Senate and hence is the law of the United States today. And those basic principles of the Atlantic Charter are three. Let me recall them to your minds because their violation spells the reason for the betrayal of Poland and her tragedy today.

1. Signatory powers pledged to renounce territorial aggression, territory or otherwise.

2. They promised not to take territory from anybody without the consent of the peoples concerned.

3. They recognized that the people had a right to live under a government of their own choice.

It is clear that the principle was violated not only in Poland and Yugoslavia, but also in Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, etc., and certainly taking away territory which the people of the United States recognized was a violation of the basic principles of the Atlantic Charter. Now this is a policy of surrender to achieve political gains and it is against the principles upon which this country was founded, and we must repudiate these agreements which violated these basic moral principles.

When I was in Poland, I did not realize that this agreement had been made at Teheran, I did not know of all the details which were made at Yalta and it was not until I read the book of Secretary Byrnes that I learned that Mr. Molotov had made a promise that elections could be held within a month. These elections have been delayed for one reason, to gain time so that political machinery could be set up. And has not the United States promised the Polish Government in London and the Polish people that the basis of our policy was a strong, free and independent Poland? Look at the tragedy of Poland today, now that the Soviet generals are patrolling Poland today.

*** Poland is fighting under tremendous odds and unless the United States is prepared to take steps in the future, I fear very much that the future generations in Poland will no longer have the influence which they now have of the moral strength of the Church and of all the parental love and guidance which children have always experienced in Poland in the past even in the most brutal days of the Nazi occupation. If my talk has been some-

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* Address delivered by The Hon. Arthur Bliss Lane, former Ambassador to Poland, at the 40th year jubilee banquet of St. John's Society of St. John's Church in Amsterdam, N. Y. on June 26th, 1949.

WHERE THE POLES WILL NEVER YIELD

THROUGHOUT the ages Poland has been confronted with a German-Russian problem; that is, keeping itself safe from attack by either Russia or Germany or both. This Polish situation, resulting from its geographical position, has been the point of departure for all Polish diplomatic and military procedures throughout the entire course of the nation's history.

The international situation at present is such that the political pressure of democracy from the West is directed toward Germany, which, hitherto only a passive factor in international policy, is with each day now coming nearer and nearer to being the active factor in that policy. It is therefore high time that statesmen of the West understood that there are certain points on which the Poles, no matter to what factions among themselves they may belong, will never yield.

There is complete unanimity among Poles with regard to the western boundary—that it should follow the Oder and Neisse Rivers. They consider this due Poland not only as a matter of historic justice but also as compensation for the vast number of murders, the immense destruction, and the suffering inflicted upon Poland by the Nazis; likewise, it is a guarantee of future security and free development of the Polish people. Western statesmen should understand that a repetition of Yalta in a settlement of Poland's western frontiers cannot take place, for there is no Pole today who would put his signature to such a settlement.

It should be kept in mind that the Oder-Neisse boundary is the boundary not only of Poland but of all East-Central Europe with its 100,000,000 population. On the maintenance of this boundary rests the economic base of a future union of the free nations of this region, assuring for all time the independence of these nations of either Germany or Russia.

All attempts on the part of the Western powers to turn back the clock of history and move the boundary to the east, necessitating the removal of millions of Polish settlers in that area—all such attempts would drive the people of Central-Eastern Europe, quite against their will, into the arms of the Soviets, whose propaganda pictures the United States and England as encouraging a reviving German imperialism.

It should be remembered that the European union, now much talked about as a means of insuring peace, justice, and prosperity in Europe, requires that Germany be permanently deprived of those geo-political conditions that made it possible in the past for Germany to undertake the conquest of the old continent. One of the chief of these conditions was the strategic control of Central-Eastern Europe, which was in German hands because of the location of Germany's former eastern boundary and German control of the Baltic.

As a result of this control, in their war plans the Germans could regard these eastern areas as a normal source of supply for labor, food, and raw materials. It also permitted them to develop their potential war industry on a scale greatly surpassing their normal economic resources.

With the Polish frontier on the Oder and Neisse, Germany is deprived of the privileged position discussed above, making possible a European union without danger of it falling under German domination.

These arguments are part of the foundation on which the idea of Polish independence rests. Surely they will be taken into consideration by the Americans and British when the time comes to decide questions of such importance for the future not only of Europe but the entire world.

"THERE IS ONLY ONE POLICY—MILITARY, ATOMIC AND MORAL STRENGTH"

(Continued from page 2)

what negative in character in condemning the policy of appeasement, it is because I want to impress the vastness of the danger of our returning to it. It was only a few days ago that our President suggested that the Chief Justice of the United States should go to Moscow to do something to duplicate Hopkins' voyage in 1945. In 1945 a most serious question with United States and Russia was concerning Poland. ***

Of course you can always get an agreement if you surrender, and yet in 1948, we were again talking of sending someone to Moscow to repeat the success that Hopkins had achieved in 1945.

Now what alternatives are there to the policy of appeasement? There is one. Total disarmament. That would cost us less taxes and it would make certain that we would have peace on earth and the money could be used in a constructive measure, but this has been refused by the Soviet Union for us to inspect their atomic energy and armaments. Ironical, isn't it, after looking over the fate of the oppressed countries and all because

it would be suicide for us to disarm unless the Soviet Union does.

There is only one policy. — Military, atomic and moral strength. Military strength is the only language that dictators understood, and it is the only language that Hitler understood, and it is the only language that Stalin understands.

I would like to see the decisions of Teheran and Yalta repudiated. That would accomplish three things:

First, it would give notice to the Soviet Union that we have gone back to the principles of the Atlantic Charter, and we would put the Soviet Union on notice that we would recognize no further aggressive policies.

Second, perhaps more important, we would be giving some hope to the people behind the iron curtain that the United States was hopeful some day of restoring the liberation which we had promised them.

Third, as an American citizen, I feel this is paramount, the repudiation of those policies would indicate to the

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JOHN GUNTHER'S NEW BOOK "BEHIND THE CURTAIN"

By ANN SU CARDWELL

ANY BOOK by John Gunther is pretty sure of getting a wide reading. He has the reputation of being a good reporter, he writes entertainingly and of matters of current interest, he takes the world—or a good portion of it—for his field, and he always manages to get in touch with people in the news. Some of his earlier writing has been severely criticized. His latest book, "Behind the Curtain" (Harpers), is sure to provoke much comment, and not a little indignation on the part of some people.

Mr. Gunther made a trip to Europe not long since, although just when is not stated in the book. The copy-right is dated 1948, 1949. The publisher's note on the jacket says, "Through personal observation he (Mr. Gunther) gives us an up-to-the-minute unbiased inside account of the Russian satellite countries as well as of other areas where the impact of Soviet policy is felt."

Manifestly that is an exaggerated claim. No book can give an "up-to-the-minute" account of what is happening in Eastern Europe. Time elapsing between writing and publication makes that impossible. Nor is the second part of the statement borne out by a reading of the book. For the author writes only of the capitals of the satellites, with the exception of Yugoslavia where he visited Zagreb in order to get an interview with Tito, who chanced to be in that city at the time of the Gunther visit. What other observations are made of these countries are based on what was seen en route from one capital to another.

Descriptions of travel scenes and of ruined cities are vivid. Persons who knew these cities in prewar days and have not already had their fill of pictures, through the eyes of others, of these ruins and the beginning of reconstruction will read Mr. Gunther's reports on these aspects of his European journey with interest.

There is of course some comment on the appearance of the population of the cities seen; but the emphasis is all on the officials high in the puppet governments. These are quoted at length and there is considerable biographical material given by Mr. Gunther. The history of the regimes is reviewed, all of which is familiar—though not in this version perhaps—to American newspaper readers. This could bear repetition perhaps were it in accord with the facts. Unfortunately in the case of at least one of the satellites, Poland, the account is based solely on what was told the author by the puppet officials, tailored, therefore, to the Soviet pattern. The account of the "evolution" of the present regime in Poland ends thus:

"The (Polish) London Government was anti-Communist; the Lublin Government was of course pro-Communist. Finally the two were merged on June 28, 1945, into what was called the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity." In closing his resumé of

these months of Polish history the author says that so brief a treatment of this evolution will make any Pole "shriek with outraged laughter." Quite right; but not because of the brevity. For Mr. Gunther appears to be entirely ignorant of the fact that Mr. Mikolajczyk was no longer Premier of the Polish Government in Exile, that he was not even a member of that government, when he joined the puppet regime; and that the Polish Government in Exile continues to exist, though without recognition from Britain or America, in London, and that it is recognized as the Polish constitutional government by the Polish émigrés.

The famous Warsaw Uprising of August 1944, according to Mr. Gunther, was planned and undertaken without Russian knowledge. If Mr. Gunther had taken the trouble to go back and read the records of those days he would have learned the truth of the matter—that the Moscow radio was continually inciting the Poles to rise and that Moscow was informed of what was under way. The attempt failed not because it was ill-timed and without Moscow's knowledge but because Moscow deliberately withheld aid, since it was to Soviet interest to get as many true Polish patriots killed as possible. It saved the Soviets the trouble of killing them later on and weakened the Poles tremendously.

In Warsaw, the Gunthers had a fine reception by the puppet Minister of the Press Viktor Grosz, who gave them "a whole afternoon, three or four hours of solid talk, and took us for a tour of the city, too." According to Mr. Gunther, "Grosz fought all through the war, and was elevated to be a general when the Russian forces were closing in on Berlin." Information from sources not controlled by Mr. Grosz says, "During the war he was at first in Lwow under Soviet occupation and then in Moscow . . . Although he had never before served in the army he was given the rank of colonel in the Polish units under General Berling (Soviet-organized and directed Polish troops) . . . In February 1946, he was made general and head of the Press Department in the Warsaw Ministry of Foreign Affairs." In 1944, working with the Soviet NKVD, Grosz "investigated" the Polish Home Army officers and leaders arrested by the Soviets.

With such a mentor it is not strange that Mr. Gunther makes no mention of Soviet deportation of Polish citizens to the number of more than 1,200,000 to forced labor or for "resettlement" in the USSR; of Soviet stripping of Poland of a mass of moveable property; of arrests and executions and disappearances of Poles. But an American in Poland "who bitterly hates the regime" is quoted as stating that there are "no concentration camps" in Poland now, that there is "no arbitrary use of police power." How anybody who lives in Poland, unless he is part of the regime, could make that last statement is

incomprehensible. Fear of the secret police is stressed by all reports out of Poland—this powerful instrument of the regime that is responsible to nobody. As for "concentration camps," reliable sources in Poland say that they exist in considerable number, though exactly how many cannot be determined. But the names of some of them are well known.

Mr. Gunther quotes a Pole: ". . . there is less suppression under this regime than under Pilsudski or the colonels." Then why, it may be asked, do the hundreds of thousands of Polish refugees who managed to live and feel proud of their country under those earlier governments refuse to return to Poland, though refusal means giving up all except freedom that men have held dear? Why, too, are Poles continually risking their lives to escape from Poland, declaring that any sort of existence in the West is better than life in their native land today?

Since our author's information about Poland comes from puppet officials and sympathizers, he can say nothing good about the prewar governments. In fact, in discussing government in each satellite visited, with the exception of Czechoslovakia, it is taken as a matter of course that the Communist regime is better than the "feudal" regimes preceding it. Take this astounding sentence: "It is impossible to approach an understanding of what the present (Polish) regime, for all its faults, means to the people without awareness of such small items as that prewar Polish landowners sought to keep roads bad, not good (!)." And this: ". . . in spite of devastation in Warsaw, housing conditions are said to be *better* (Italics are the author's) there than before the war—sufficient indication of the inadequacies, to put it mildly, of the previous regime." If Mr. Gunther were familiar with the puppet regime's own press he would know better than to write such nonsense as that.

When Mr. Gunther says that Poles deny that Poland is a satellite state, he should have qualified the assertion by saying Poles with whom he talked, namely officials and employees of the regime. The real Poles say that Poland is in fact a Soviet province. "In *every* satellite state," again the italics are the author's, "the Communists were the earliest and most effective fighters against Nazi invaders and oppressors; it was the Communists, as a rule, who initiated and led military and political action; . . . it was they who imparted discipline and organization to the scattered patriotic forces. So, when freedom came, it was quite natural that they should demand to rule what they, plus the Red Army, had been largely responsible for liberating." That is a flat assertion, without documentation, and so far as Poland is concerned, wholly wrong.

Poles have declared that the Soviet-directed resistance movement in Poland was not organized to fight the

Germans but to make trouble for the true Polish underground. And there is a mass of well documented evidence to support that statement. Furthermore, when the Polish Home Army obeyed orders from London to come out into the open and fight alongside the Red Army when it entered Poland on the heels of the retreating Germans in 1944, *after* that Polish Home Army had been well received by the Red Army officers and had won battles fighting alone or in company of the Red Army, officers and men were arrested, certain among them executed, and roughly 50,000 shipped to labor camps in the USSR, where some 40,000 of them, or those surviving from that number, are to this day.

Naturally Mr. Gunther makes no mention of anything like that. Neither does he mention the fact of continuing arrests and deportations. Or that the bulk of Polish production, from both farm and factory, has been going to Russia ever since the "liberation" of Poland by the Red Army, while Poles, except those privileged, go without proper food and clothing. Apparently Mr. Gunther was not told about the Soviet-officered and trained "Polish" army, in reality little more than a unit of the Soviet army; but he does say that there are Russian troops "though in no great number—'communication troops' they are called . . ." in Poland. Reports from all reliable sources, including foreign correspondents, say that Red troops are in the "recovered territories," not in other parts of Poland, but that in the western lands they are in considerable numbers, sufficient to handle any situation that might arise in Poland.

The author gives a paragraph about the Polish cultural advance under the puppets—the number of books published, theatres opened, and so forth. But of the fact that this flood of books is largely Communist propaganda or pro-Soviet literature, that the theatre and all forms of artistic expression must serve the "new" Poland and the new ideology, that youth is largely in the hands of Communist-directed organizations—of all this nothing from Mr. Gunther. If he did not hear of these things, then he certainly cannot be said to give an "unbiased inside account" of life in Poland today.

There are a number of other points in Mr. Gunther's pages on Poland that could well be discussed here were there space to go into more detail. But those touched upon should serve to indicate the character of the treatment as a whole. The author has not been content to be a reporter and record his observations as such. Although a journalist, not a historian with a long acquaintance with the history and background of the countries he was visiting, although his visits were so brief, he has attempted to play the role of historian, interpreter, and prophet with regard to those ancient troubled lands of Eastern Europe. With the result that he may write entertainingly but hardly with authority.

DECLARATION OF POLICY OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR FREE EUROPE, INC.

OUR NATION was founded by men who believed in individual freedom under law. They declared this in our Declaration of Independence. That Declaration, as Lincoln said, was designed to give liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope to the world for all future time.

Much has been done to give substance to that hope, and, in the course of our history, our belief in human liberties and our power to defend them have been continuously strengthened by those millions, largely from Europe, who have found asylum from oppression within our frontiers. We declared the Monroe Doctrine so that despotism might not reach out to strangle human liberty in this hemisphere, and we have fought two great wars to destroy centers of despotism that threatened freedom everywhere.

As World War II came to a close the United States joined with Great Britain and the Soviet Union in the Declaration on Liberated Europe, signed at Yalta on February 11, 1945. In that Declaration we affirmed our determination to cooperate with other peace-loving nations in building "world order under law dedicated to peace, security, freedom and the well-being of all mankind." In particular, we pledged ourselves in that document to assist the peoples liberated from the domination of Nazi Germany "to solve by democratic means their pressing political and economic problems."

With other nations, and in the vanguard of the movement, the United States helped to plan a "United Nations" that would assure justice and lasting peace. At San Francisco the United Nations Charter was adopted by statesmen acting on behalf of the peoples who were determined to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights and the dignity and worth of the individual. Other nations, which are not members, assumed the same obligations through the provisions of treaties of peace whereby these states regained their sovereignty.

Four years have passed since the Yalta Declaration was adopted and the Charter signed. Eighteen months have passed since the peace treaties with Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania entered into force. Yet, in the intervening period, the peoples of Eastern Europe have increasingly been deprived of freedom of association, freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom to perform the work of their choice. Equality before the law and protection of life and property are denied. Government by representation through free elections does not exist. Meanwhile, the peoples of Western Europe strive to guard their freedoms against a fifth column attack which is without precedent for its lack of principle, its intensity and its range of action.

This situation is the direct consequence of the determination of the leaders of International Communism to dominate the world through the creation of police states subservient to them. It is this which has frustrated our hopes of peace and increasingly threatens to bring on a

third major war. The threat can not be removed and stable peace achieved until the peoples of Europe are once more able to live without fear. Only as the specter of the police state is dissipated can personal liberty and individual security return.

The peoples of Eastern and Western Europe look to us who for the moment are the most secure in our freedom. We, on our side, are reminded by the scale of our economic aid under the Marshall Plan and by the Atlantic Pact for purposes of mutual defense, that the frontiers of our security are not those of our own continent.

Action of governments alone is not enough. As American citizens we all share in the moral responsibilities assumed by our country, as we also share in the dangers. Acting together in such private associations as are appropriate and in consonance with the established views of our government in world and human affairs, we must help to further the cause of liberty and peace.

To this end the National Committee for Free Europe, Inc., is formed.

The Committee's support will be offered in particular to the intellectual and political leaders who have come temporarily to this country, seeking the freedom denied them in their own lands. It will aid them in their peaceful efforts to prepare the way toward the restoration in Eastern Europe of the social, political and religious liberties in which they and we believe.

Specifically, the Committee will help these non-Fascist and non-Communist leaders:

To maintain themselves in useful occupations during their enforced stay in the United States;

To come to know the people of the United States and to understand their spirit and aims;

To engage in efforts by radio, press and other means to keep alive among their fellow citizens in Europe the ideals of individual and national freedom;

To establish effective means of cooperation with like-minded European leaders in the United States and to coordinate their plans with those of similar leaders abroad.

The Committee will rally popular support in the United States for the cause of Free Europe, and, in this way, will aid the cause of freedom everywhere. It will raise and dispense funds in behalf of this cause.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR FREE EUROPE

Frank Altschul, Treasurer; A. A. Berle, Jr., Francis Biddle, Robert Woods Bliss, James B. Carey, William L. Clayton, Frederic R. Dolbeare, Hugh A. Drum, Allen W. Dulles, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Mark F. Ethridge, James A. Farley, William Green, Joseph C. Grew, Chairman; Charles R. Hook, Arthur Bliss Lane, Henry R. Luce, Joseph V. McKee, Arthur W. Page, DeWitt C. Poole, Executive Secretary; Spyros Skouras, Charles M. Spofford, Charles P. Taft, W. W. Waymack, DeWitt Wallace, Mathew Woll, Darryl Zanuck.

"NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR FREE EUROPE IS AN ESSENTIAL STEP . . ."

By THE HON. JOSEPH C. GREW*

WE AMERICANS have all too often failed to look ahead. All too often we have been caught unprepared, for sometimes sudden developments occur directly affecting our own national interests if not our national security and safety. It seems to me to be a trite observation that some day, sooner or later, the Iron Curtain is bound to disintegrate. I do not believe that a system built on the fallacious principles of communism, of terror and cruelty and denial of the human freedoms and fundamental rights can permanently exist, any more than Abraham Lincoln's United States could continue to exist half slave and half free. This thesis can of course be argued back and forth and we have to admit that it would be utterly impossible to predict even approximately how long and how far those countries behind the Iron Curtain will have to bear with the appalling situation in which they are placed.

Let us, however assume that such a situation cannot continue forever. There have already been rifts in the curtain. Other rifts may well appear. When ultimately that house of cards topples, gradually or suddenly as the case may be, we must expect possible chaos and, for the time being probably a political vacuum. Let us therefore prepare for that day or period in advance and see that democratic leaders, democratic in the best sense of our interpretation of democracy are ready to return to their homelands from which so many of them are refugees many indeed already in our country, to bring order out of chaos.

Some of these refugees, with attributes of statesmanship and formerly persons of consequence and influence in their home countries, including writers and teachers, are on the verge of penury. The very first duty of our National Committee for Free Europe therefore seems to be to find employment for these people in useful occupations. Body and soul must be kept together and vital spirit must be preserved if they are some day to fulfill the duties that may well lie ahead. This will not be charity but help in finding suitable work. Many of these people have risked their lives and lost their homes and possessions for their faith. Can we wash our hands of them now?

Second, we want those good people thoroughly to understand our system of democracy, with all its failings but with all its unsurpassable assets, and we want them to know our own people, their standards, their way of living, their aims and their ideals. We therefore plan to send these refugees, or as many of them as is practicable, out into our country to make contact with trade unions, farm organizations, colleges and universities, women's clubs, church groups and other civic organizations. These refugees will have interesting stories to tell. Some of

them may lecture. We hope they will learn much and assimilate the atmosphere that is America. In our country, hospitality is traditional. Let us show it in full measure to these people whose philosophy can well be summed up in the words:

"Though repine and reason chafe

There came a voice without reply:

'Tis man's perdition to be safe

When for the truth he ought to die."

But our plans go much further than this. We propose to put the voices of these people on the air, addressed to their own countrymen in Europe, in their own languages, in the familiar tones. We are, of course, not going to compete with the "Voice of America." But the "Voice of America," being officially sponsored and conducted, necessarily works under certain restrictions. I think that we can effectively supplement the "Voice." It is our American habit not to leave everything to Government. In the field of the contest of ideas there is much that private initiative can accomplish best. War would achieve nothing but chaos. Victory in the contest of ideas may well be enduring.

Finally, we shall try when possible to bring about effective cooperation and coordination of plans with groups in the United States of exiles from given countries behind the Iron Curtain, hoping that similar cooperation and coordination can extend to similar groups abroad.

All this is still in the preliminary and perhaps experimental stage. We have only recently become organized. We must proceed with our plans on the basis of trial and error, although I hope and believe that our errors will be inconsiderable. We have an excellent staff of high-minded men and women working in the Empire State Building in New York under the direction of an old colleague of mine in the Foreign Service, DeWitt C. Poole, who combines sound judgment with the highest ideals and a vigorous determination to achieve our objectives. A dignified advertising campaign and an appeal for funds are already under way, and since some of the outstanding personalities in our country have not only sponsored our venture but have liberally contributed we cannot but be optimistic of success. This however is an undertaking that concerns and ought to appeal to every American and we hope that a dollar here and a few dollars there from a great number of citizens will express their moral and active support of what we are trying to do. We are still on the threshold. I believe that this threshold will lead to really important constructive achievement in both the short-range and the long-range interests of our country and of all of us.

Let's just remember that at Yalta on February 11, 1945 we, Great Britain and the Soviet Union promised those countries and those people to cooperate in building

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* Excerpts from an address "Aspects of American Foreign Policy—The Lessons of Leadership" by The Hon. Joseph C. Grew, former Under Secretary of State and Ambassador to Japan, presently Chairman of the National Committee for Free Europe, delivered before the Summer Session of the School of Advanced International Studies at Peterboro, N. H., June 27th, 1949.

General Sikorski: SOME PERSONAL REMINISCENCES

By Victor Podoski, Former Polish Envoy to Canada

[This is not a biographical sketch of General Sikorski. I knew him too little for that. The article contains merely some personal memories of my meetings with the Polish Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief—five in all: one in England, one in Poland, three in Canada. I have omitted the substance of conversations on foreign politics in which I took part or acted as interpreter for my Chief, who was a great figure in Poland's history during the major portion of the Second World War.]

I MET General Wladyslaw Sikorski, for the first time, in London during the autumn of 1922. I was then Assistant Military Attaché at the Polish Legation.

Sikorski was visiting England for the first time, on the invitation of General Lord Cavan, Chief of the Imperial General Staff.

Sikorski and his companion spent four days in or near London. One morning we visited the Port of London Authority, and were shown about the several warehouses. We paused at a huge tobacco storehouse. Our guide told us the value of the merchandise gathered there. Sikorski, who neither smoked nor drank, remarked, with a smile, that the value of the weed in this warehouse was equal to the total annual budget of Poland. And then he added: "As much money do your people send up in smoke as we use to run our country."

The General dictated to me in Polish his letters and as I put them into English I admired the ease with which he composed them. He later wrote articles and books on military subjects. General Weygand provided an introduction to one of his books, originally written in Polish. For Sikorski—unlike most of his countrymen—was a poor linguist.

He was back in England in June, 1940, when the collapse of France had become imminent. After the lost campaign of 1939 in Poland, he had mustered an army of 92,000 in France, and he now flew to England to put his men at the disposal of Winston Churchill. Soon thereafter, Polish troops were guarding a section of the Scottish coast, and Polish airmen were taking a gallant and effective part in the Battle of Britain, while the men of the Polish Navy and Merchant Marine were fighting and functioning under British command, as they continued to do to the very end of the war.

General Sikorski visited North America in 1941. The original plan was for him to go directly to Washington. I was at the time Consul-General of Poland for Canada. I suggested by cable that Sikorski and his party should make their first call upon the Canadian Government, in view of the fact that they were being sent by the Polish Government residing in London, were travelling on a British destroyer, and were to land at a Canadian port. The suggestion was accepted.

I went to Halifax to meet my chief. News had reached Ottawa that the destroyer was to put into port sooner than had been expected. Consequently the party meeting Sikorski had to leave Ottawa on Sunday night instead of Monday morning. When, however, we arrived by

special car at Halifax we learned that the party from overseas had already put up at the Nova Scotian Hotel.

This was embarrassing for me, uneasy over my failure to meet him at the pier. Besides, I had a sore back as the result of a nasty fall while skiing. Altogether I was feeling decidedly uncomfortable. "I am meeting you instead of being met by you, Mr. Consul-General," was the General's first remark. "Sit down. Why don't you sit down?" My skiing misadventure made it easier for me to keep on my feet. He liked to appear severe and austere. But I found a kind and understanding heart under the soldier's uniform. When annoyed over some matter that had been neglected or done improperly by his subordinates, he would scold them with flaming face and shaking lips. But the storm blew over almost as quickly as it arose, and was succeeded by a friendly smile. He reminded me so much of my father in his sudden gusts of ire that I came to feel for him a genuine affection.

It was characteristic of his intimate feeling for his staff, military and civil, that he liked to give them nicknames. While visiting my official home in Ottawa he called me *wojt* (pronounced *vooyt*), or sheriff, alluding to the Polish coat-of-arms over the entrance, familiar to all of us in Poland because it always appeared over governmental offices, including those of sheriffs. To his solemn remark as he entered the door and glanced at the coat-of-arms—"The seat of our *wojt* at Ottawa"—I had added: "Receiving a *voyevoda* on an inspection tour." (A *voyevoda* is the ranking district administrative officer.)

It has often been said that Sikorski tolerated every kind of political opinion, except criticism of himself or of his authority. That is hardly just. While he certainly disliked opposition and could not hide his annoyance at even minor forms of it, he had respect for open and constructive criticism, if offered by one whom he judged to be a well-wisher.

At the Union Station in Ottawa about noon, as the General alighted from his train, he was greeted by the representative of the Governor General, the Canadian Prime Minister in person with most of his Cabinet, Senators, Members of Parliament, Mayor Lewis and others. Sikorski was delighted to meet such a distinguished group of Canadians, and was particularly impressed with the personality of the Prime Minister, whom he considered one of the ablest and most agile statesmen of his day. He met Mr. King more intimately the following day in the Prime Minister's Office, and was particularly struck by his remarkable memory, as illustrated in his recitation of a long passage from Pasteur. Sikorski was all the more impressed as memory was not his strong point. He usually depended on prepared texts of his speeches and addresses which he revised with great care.

The following day was spent in conferences with Colonel Ralston and the Air Minister, the Honorable C. G. Power, on the subject of opening in Canada a recruiting



Late Gen. Wladyslaw Sikorski at home with his wife and daughter, who died with him in the airplane accident on July 4, 1943.

station and a training camp for Polish armed forces. Negotiations to this end had been carried on since my arrival in Ottawa in October, 1939. But the finishing touches were now supplied and an important commitment was undertaken by General Sikorski.

The understanding took the form of a Polish-Canadian Agreement, designed to embody the sentiment of friendship and the practical purpose of cooperation in the war effort of Poland and Canada. Norman Robertson, the Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, and I worked hard on the right formula. The Agreement as it now stood would be very pleasing to the Poles, but the draft was not quite the traditionally cut-and-dried intergovernmental document. At the Chateau Laurier, where Sikorski was host at a luncheon, the Canadian Prime Minister came in, bringing with him the text of the Agreement for signature. It was read, and, to the joy of the Poles, contained passages added by Mr. King, paying tribute in warm and very flattering terms to Poland and her Armed Forces. The document was signed by the two Prime Ministers.

During his visit to Ottawa Sikorski received members of the local Polish colony at my official residence, and held a press conference at the Chateau Laurier. At that moment one subject was of particular concern—France—and the newspapermen listened with absorbed interest to what Sikorski had to tell them.

Before he left Ottawa, the Polish Commander-in-Chief held an afternoon reception at the Chateau Laurier, to which 180 guests were invited. It was a remarkably representative gathering of Canadians, the first that had taken place since the beginning of the war. As I stood beside Sikorski and interpreted for him, I was amazed at the ease and versatility with which he carried out this social function. He managed to say something appropriate and different to each of his guests as I introduced each with a telegraphic biography.

I accompanied my chief to Montreal on his way to Washington. Between trains the General and his party

went to the Polish Refugees' Club to meet the members, some of whom he had known in Poland, and then dined at the hospitable home of Mr. and Mrs. J. W. McConnell, of the *Montreal Star*.

Almost a year later, in March, 1942, General Sikorski re-visited Canada. This time he arrived by plane from England, and stopped in Montreal for a day on his way to Washington. He brought with him Letters of Credence accrediting me as first Minister Plenipotentiary of Poland to Canada. It was probably the first time in diplomatic history that the head of a government acted as a diplomatic courier and carrier of such a document. The 'Ripley' touch was enhanced by the fact that the party was flown, for reasons of security, at a height exceeding at times the altitude of the Himalayas. These unusual details I had the occasion to reveal in my speech to the Governor General, the Earl of Athlone, when I presented these credentials, in a sealed envelope, from the President of Poland then residing in London. The envelope was afterwards sent back to London by the Governor General to His Majesty the King, with the seals still unbroken. Strange at it may appear, such is the protocol procedure.

General Sikorski left by plane for Washington and other American cities. The party returned to Canada by train on March 31st, and this time they were the guests of the Governor General at Rideau Hall.

Sikorski and Raczynski, then Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs, were entertained by Mr. King at Laurier House the same afternoon. Norman Robertson and I were also present. The General discussed many subjects, including his latest visit to Moscow. There was also with us for a time a Canadian naval officer, Commander Horatio Nelson Lay, the first Canadian officer to be decorated with the Polish Cross of Valour. Despite all difficulties, he had brought Polish troops from France to England in June, 1940, in the destroyer H.M.C.S. *Restigouche*.

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OBSERVATIONS ON POLAND TODAY

JOSEPH HARSCH, one of The Christian Science Monitor's top-ranking correspondents, recently visited Poland and wrote for his paper a series of informative articles on what he saw and heard in that satellite state.

He is of the opinion that the puppet regime is tolerated by the Poles because the Soviets have guaranteed Poland's holding the "recovered lands." The puppets must, however, deliver a thoroughly communized Poland to Moscow; otherwise, who knows what will happen? Moscow can take away as well as give. And there is a sufficient number of Red troops in the "recovered lands" to make the threat of what Moscow might do ever present to the regime, which does all in its power to conceal the presence of these troops from the Poles.

Mr. Harsch notes the many signs of the continuing process, even the speeding up of sovietization of Poland, but he believes there may be a limit to Polish acceptance of such a procedure. Moscow is anything but sure of the reliability of Poland as a Communist state. Four factors make opposition formidable: Polish nationalism, growing dissatisfaction with economic conditions, the Catholic Church, and Polish individualism.

Little things, not so insignificant after all, show what is happening. For instance the jaunty square cap, a particularly loved feature of the Polish uniform, has been replaced by a round one. Heretofore Communist has been a word not used by the puppets, and their ad-

herents; they have been "workers" or "anti-fascists." But in all their laudatory writing of Gerhart Eisler he was "Communist." The Communist membership in the government has been increased while the so-called Socialists have been ousted. Visas, so it is said, will be harder and harder for would-be visitors from the West to get.

Mr. Harsch takes note of the "special committees" that visit shops and stores to examine accounts and stocks and determine taxes—an outrageous procedure about which we have heard much in detail from the sufferers themselves.

One fact is made very clear in these reports, namely, that the Poles are wholly against Russia, except for the puppets and their tools—a very small percentage of the population. But the atmosphere gives the impression that a change in Soviet policy toward Poland is in the making, that Moscow will not permit things to go along relatively slowly as has been the case. The many signs indicating the stiffening are not to be overlooked or discounted. That stiffening, that taking of Poland further along the road of sovietization, will depend largely upon the result of the Paris conference now coming to a close. If Poland can get more imports from the West, thus bettering the economic situation a bit, the regime, Mr. Harsch is of the opinion, will act to strengthen its position with Moscow.

GENERAL SIKORSKI: SOME PERSONAL REMINISCENCES

(Continued from page 9)

The following day it was my privilege to give a luncheon at the Country Club. It was my inaugural party as Polish Minister to Canada. In his speech Mr. King said many pleasant things about Sikorski. He particularly recalled the Polish Premier's address at the University of Aberdeen, when Sikorski was given an honorary degree, and the striking way in which he had contrasted the doctrine of the Western Democracies: "*Lex est Rex*" with that of the authoritarians and totalitarians: "*Rex est Lex*". Mr. King's recollection of the Aberdeen address greatly pleased Sikorski. And he was amused when told later that 'Rex' was the nickname given the Canadian Premier by his intimate friends.

A year later Sikorski was again, and for the last time, on Canadian soil. This time, however, he could stop over only in Montreal on his way to and from Washington. He sent for me on both occasions. On his return from the United States the snow was still lying on the ground. Through the window of his hotel Sikorski saw horse-drawn sleighs. He suggested a drive. For nearly an hour we drove about the city and on the mountain. He did not talk, but asked me to do so. Tired though he was, his interest was unflagging. He would interrupt to ask particulars of a building that had caught his eye, or a detail of Canadian life. He delighted in the sight of snow-clad roofs and trees. "Just like home," he mur-

mured. "It is good to see snow again after all these years."

The following morning Sikorski, Raczyński and the rest of the party left by plane for England. As the heavy craft took off it flew at first so low as to make those who were seeing them off at Dorval anxious for a moment. Promptly, however, the plane rose clear, and its silver figure faded into the mist of a raw winter's morning. Three months later another plane carrying Sikorski back to London was to become his coffin.

In the early morning of July 5th a telephone call got me out of bed at the Ottawa Legation. "This is Bill Ketchum of the *Journal*. I have bad news for you . . . General Sikorski was killed in a plane crash at Gibraltar." With him died his only child, a Polish WAC; his Chief of the General Staff; the two officers who had accompanied Sikorski on his American journey and Major Cazalet, M.P.

Sikorski had been Prime Minister of Poland and Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Armed Forces from September, 1939, to July, 1943. He left his widow all he had—three hundred pounds sterling. His first act every morning had been to send donations to the widows and orphans of his soldiers, sailors and airmen who had given their lives for the common cause and for—what they had then believed—their own Poland.

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HENELT EXHIBITS IN PHILADELPHIA

THE SCULPTURE of "Mother and Child" by Joseph Zenon HENELT has been admitted to the Third International Exhibition of Sculpture in Philadelphia, Pa.—an important event in the international world of sculpture in all its aspects.

Organized by the Fairmont Park Association, it is located in the Philadelphia Museum of Art and is the third of such exhibitions, the others having taken place in 1933 and 1940. Sculptors of international reputation are represented in the present exhibition, among them: Henry Moore, Jean Arp, Braque, Brancusi, Lawrence Vencesse, Zadkin, Giacometti, Juan Cruz, Ruiz, Messina, Marini Calder, Jo Davidson, Zorach, de Creeft, Archipenco, Mestrovic.

Among the works exhibited four foreign heroes of the American struggle for independence — Pulaski, Lafayette, Montgomery and Steuben, by Sidney Waugh,—are deserving attention.

The whole of this exhibit of contemporary sculpture is characterized by a tendency toward the mastery of form and of technical problems connected with form. In seeking artistic expression sculptors are making use of new materials, such as steel, plastics, cast stone. New forms are associated with new conceptions, often revolutionary, frequently abstract. However, all the work exhibited bears the mark of extraordinary creative effort and struggle for new sculptural expression.

Acceptance of Henelt's work for this excellent exhibit is evidence that recognition is given to the development of his talent. Although he arrived in the United States only three years ago, he has already made a place for himself in American artistic circles. Not long since his works were exhibited in the National Academy of Design in New York, the Audubon Artists Annual Exhibition in New York, the National Sculpture Society Exhibition in New York, the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia, and several others.

Born in Poland, J. Z. Henelt studied at the Academy of Fine Arts in Cracow. In 1933 following his graduation from the Academy, Henelt spent a year in Italy on a study-tour on scholarship.

Upon his return from Italy, Henelt was awarded one year fellowship at the Cracow Academy of Art. Later he taught in the Teachers' Training College of that city and in the School of Arts and Crafts. Exhibiting with the modernistic Group of Ten as well as at other exhibitions, he attracted favorable attention and was commissioned to do a number of heads and busts. His head of Jozef Pilsudski was purchased by the Post Office Employees Building in Zakopane. Shortly before the war, he was at work on a bust of Adam Cardinal Sapieha for the Cracow City Hall.

In 1939 at the invitation of the Union of Hungarian Artists, Henelt worked in Hungary. As soon as the war



MOTHER AND CHILD, by Joseph Z. Henelt, exhibited at the Third International Exhibition of Sculpture in Philadelphia, Pa.

broke out he went back to Poland. When the Germans and Russians finally occupied Poland, he escaped to France. A former skiing instructor, he was assigned to the Highlander Brigade and took part in the fighting at Narvik. Having one year leave from the Polish Army in England he devoted all his time to sculpture.

His works have been on display at the Royal Scottish Academy of Art in Edinburgh, at the Royal Academy in London, at the Royal Society of British Artists in London and at the National Portrait Gallery in London.

Working for the most part in stone and wood, Henelt has also to his credit fourteen "Stations of the Cross" in bronze, produced for the Polish Church in London, which had been founded by the Polish émigrés after the failure of the Polish Uprising of 1830 against the Russian occupants.

Another work of interest by Henelt is the head portrait of Gen. Wlad. Sikorski and the memorial of "Our Lady of Ostra Brama" presented to Westminster Cathedral by the Squadron "City of Wilno" in the name of the entire Polish Air Force.

A bronze plaque by Henelt featuring the oath-taking ceremony of a Polish Winged Knight of 17th century hangs in the British Arsenal at Woolich near London to which it was presented by the Polish gunners who worked at the Arsenal.

Henelt's works are included in the collection: University of Cracow, Post Office in Cracow, Polish Army Museum, National Foundation of Art Collection, Polish Ministry of Education, Westminster Cathedral in London, St. Stanislaus Church in London, British Arsenal of Woolich in London, Ford Motor Co. in Dagenham, England.

—SLC

TOO MANY PROMISES AND NO ACTION

By WILLIAM T. FRARY

I AM NOT a Pole. But my admiration for the Polish spirit and my sympathetic awareness of Polish problems could not be greater if I were. The Poles are plagued with many problems. One which is particularly acute—and unnecessarily so—is that of Polish students, both those in Europe and those on scholarship in America. The plight of these students here and abroad, I, personally, have seen.

Because the best hope for a solution of this problem lies with Polish Americans, this appeal in behalf of Polish students is made to the thousands of Polish Americans here. And because a future, free Poland depends upon today's youth, it is necessary to guide and develop these young people along democratic principles and through them bring our democratic message to the Polish people. Polish Americans are willing and able to help. But they cannot help if they do not know the facts.

Who are the Polish students? They are mostly former members of the Polish Home Army, ex-prisoners of war, former inmates of concentration camps and former slave laborers of Germany. They are the ones who served in the last war, survived, and suffered from it. In western Europe, students (male and female) total 2,250 and these are chiefly in Germany, Austria, France, Belgium and Italy. The greatest number are in Germany, where recent statistics show 1,120 are in British, French and, predominately, American Zones of Germany. In Germany, Polish students have the status of DPs. Some few have come to America through scholarships offered by universities and organizations. But these students are deplorably few.

The students' problem consists of more than a hunger for knowledge, satiated when the doors of a university are thrown open. Merely feeding the mind is not enough. The student must have food, clothing, adequate living conditions, and everyday basic needs. Knowledge cannot live on desire alone; the student ill fed and ill clad, beset with legal difficulties, cannot use educational opportunities to best advantage.

When I say that Polish students, those in Germany for example, are 72% undernourished and 25% underweight with every third student suffering from tuberculosis, rheumatism, diseases of the heart, ears, or nervous system, I am not merely quoting statistics. Furthermore, these ailments are aggravated by three to four students living crowded together in disintegrating, wooden huts and by their lack of proper clothing. I have seen this in Germany. These conditions in Germany are duplicated in other countries, where Polish students face the same odds in the struggle for education.

In France, about 800 Polish students are in universities there; only 150 of this number hold small scholarships which do not cover essential needs. Most of these students live in cheap lodgings, basements, garrets. The inevitable result of such living conditions is malnutrition, anemia, other physical ailments as well as mental exhaustion.

I cannot praise highly enough the great effort to ameliorate these conditions and to help students which is being made by the Association of Polish War Refugees, the Polish Combatants Association, the Relief Society for Poles, the Polish Government in London and the Polish Union in Germany. But, unfortunately, these groups have little or no funds and have no affiliated group located here in this country.

What about the Polish students who have come to America on scholarships? Unfortunately, winning a scholarship does not end the struggles involved in getting an education. Those already here arrived without funds and with only tuition guaranteed. While in Seattle recently, I learned of the problem of a Polish youth who had come there from London on scholarship. He was destitute—no money, no friends, and worse still, found upon arriving that he actually had no scholarship. All he did have was the name of a Polish family, that of Stephen F. Kluck, in Seattle. He did not know them and they did not know him. He went to them by chance, told them his plight and in typical, warm-hearted friendliness—characteristic of the Polish people—this family opened their home to the student. This is but one story. There are many more like it. Day-to-day living coupled with studying at the same time is a hardship repeatedly brought to my attention in letters from Polish students, both from Europe and from new arrivals in the United States. Letters from students in distress reach me on the average of 20 daily. Some are from students already enrolled at universities here who cannot find jobs to earn living expenses; others from students eager to apply for scholarships, but do not know how and do not know the educational avenues which are open.

There is a solution to the problem of the Polish students. But any solution is meaningless unless it becomes action. And action must come from Polish Americans organized into an effective group and working with a well planned program. The desire to help, or actual help rendered spasmodically by a few people here and there, is good but not good enough. Organized help is vitally necessary *at once* and must come both from Polish leaders and from Polish people.

Both the Polish students and the DPs as a whole have received too many promises from Polish leaders—and no action. Promises will no longer be accepted by them. I have stressed constantly both DP and student problems to Polish leaders, have given them the facts from firsthand knowledge, but to date the situation has received no satisfactory answer and there has been no constructive action. Once the proper group is willing to engage in an effective program for Polish students, such a program should include: increased number of scholarships from universities in this country; provision of at least partial living expenses for students; arranging for part time work so that students can wholly or partly earn their own expenses; utilizing the assistance of an American familiar with the situation and capable of

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WHAT HAPPENS TO MINORITY POPULATIONS IN THE USSR?

NOW THAT Moscow is advancing rapidly in Asia, after having become the dominant power in all Eastern Europe, the question of Russian attitudes toward the peoples the USSR engulfs becomes ever more pertinent. "The Population of the Soviet Union," a League of Nations book of 289 pages published in Geneva (1946), throws light on that question, even though the statistics of necessity had to be those taken from Soviet publications. On that basis, however, the Soviets cannot declare them false.

It is noted that the Soviet Union is not a country of one people but a mosaic of at least 175 nationalities, of which the Russians (1926 statistics) numbered 77,791,000, a little over half the entire population of the USSR. The Ukrainians were next with 31,000,000. The White Russians (White Ruthenians) were credited with 4,793,000, the Jews with 2,681,000, the Finns 2,695,000, the Georgians with 1,821,000, the Mongolian peoples of the Caucasus with 1,896,000 and of Asiatic Russia with 9,747,000, while the medley of other nationalities accounted for something over a million more.

The cultural level, manner of life, religion, languages of this vast conglomeration of peoples—all these raised barriers against political unification of the peoples of this enormous area absorbed by Russia, with the result that the whole was and is ruled from the Kremlin. Colonization of uninhabited or sparsely settled regions was achieved by sending thither both criminal and political prisoners, the latter chiefly from subjected peoples rising in rebellion against the Russian Government. During the 19th century more than a million persons were living in Siberia as exiles, in 1896 there were some 300,000, in the years 1905-1906 roughly 50,000 more were added.

Some of these exiled members of subject peoples, the Poles for example, banished to remote places and cut off from the world, gave up all hope of return home and attached themselves to the Russian settlers or merchants, the dominating element, of the Asiatic community in which they found themselves. Thus it happens that Polish names are borne today by men in the Soviet Government. Members of other nationalities more akin to the Russian in language and religion succumbed in greater numbers.

Two hundred years of this forced colonization coupled with decimation of the native tribes brought the whole area from the Volga River to the Pacific Ocean under Russian or russified influence.

The Bolsheviks have continued the czarist deportation policy, but on a vastly greater scale. This is known, although Moscow naturally gives no figures on this or on the degree of slavery existing in the forced labor camps. But statistics given in connection with other matters are illuminating.

For example, in 1926 the Ukrainians constituted a little over one-fifth of the population of the USSR, that is, 31,000,000. Normal increase would have brought that up to 36,000,000 in 1939. Instead, the census of that year gives the number as 28,000,000; no population gain in thirteen years, but a loss of 3,000,000. The Bolsheviks

were at that time implementing their new agrarian and economic program, in consequence of which agricultural areas occupied by Ukrainians suffered population loss of 16-20%. Famine took its toll. But so did deportation. The far northern regions of Murmansk and Karelia had a population increase those years of 159%, eastern Siberia 59%, the Soviet Far East 88%, resulting from deportations from the Ukraine, the Don regions, and the Kuban totalling some 11,000,000 persons. It is estimated that the Ukrainians made up not less than half the number of those uprooted and deported under worse conditions than animals are shipped. Most of those who reached the distant "settlements" or labor camps are listed as Russians. How many of the dispossessed Ukrainians were murdered or died from famine and exposure will never be known.

The fury of Moscow's procedure against the Ukrainians is understandable. For time and again this powerful national group has made trouble threatening the Moscow regime's existence and Ukrainian secession from the USSR. Ukrainian influence in the USSR had to be removed, Ukrainians themselves had to be removed from the Ukraine.

Other nationalities than the Ukrainians in the USSR were dying out during the 1923-39 period. The Kazaks, the Poles, the Moldavians, Estonians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Iranians and all other minority groups lost noticeably. The Soviets were clearing their borders of natives of the countries marked for further Soviet expansion. By 1939 the minority peoples in the USSR had increased only 3% while the Russian population had made a 33% gain, making 99,000,000 Russians or 58% of the USSR population as a whole.

Such was the situation at the beginning of World War II. According to German statistics, the Soviets deported some 2,000,000 Polish officers, workers, and government employees from their share of partitioned Poland. ("Workers" must include women and children, since so many of these were deported.) In exchange for Germans in Soviet-occupied territories, Moscow got some 21,000 Lithuanians and Russians from German-held lands. At the time of the collapse of Poland in the autumn of 1939 approximately 14,000 Polish soldiers had crossed into Lithuania, expecting to get from there to the West. Some 65,000 Jews had fled from Germany to Lithuania and more than 10,000 Christian Poles had escaped from Poland into the Baltic states. Jews to the number of 200,000, it is estimated, had fled to the USSR before the approaching Germans in Poland, as had another 40,000 in Rumania.

Before the outbreak of the Soviet-Finnish war all Germans in those areas and in areas adjoining were removed—whither they were taken was not made known. However, it is reliably reported that the Germans of the Volga region were taken from their republic and settled in the Altai area. It is worth noting that in 1939 there were, according to statistics given, 1,423,000 Germans in the Soviet Union.

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HOW THEY FEEL AND BEHAVE UNDER SOVIET OCCUPATION

THE report from which this is taken was recently smuggled out of Poland.

The Facade

A superficial glance at today's Poland gives the impression that the people are either Communists or have accepted the existing situation.

Partisan activities belong to the past. The remnants of armed underground units are rather exceptions to the rule and their activities leave no imprints on the life of the population. The parties of legal political opposition have been completely silenced. Spontaneous anti-Government demonstrations, illegal commemoration of the National holiday on May 3rd, Scout and student riots, attempts of strikes and acts of sabotage have on the whole ceased. The frequently organized parades, rallies and celebrations are attended by large crowds carrying Communist banners and placards.

All this, however, is a superficial picture.

Attitude Toward Government

The Polish nation hates the Communist rulers. The nation understands that the government is an agency of the Kremlin. This attitude has grown particularly strong in the past three years. Immediately following "liberation," people were often deceived by patriotic phraseology and external appearances of national independence. Disillusionment came soon.

It became apparent that the impoverishment is not only the result of war, but also of the present system of government.

Reasons for the Schism

Economic factors do not play the most important part in shaping the people's negative attitude toward the government. More profound reasons are:

The older generation remembers the Polish-Soviet war of 1920, and the whole nation is aware of Russia's conspiracy with Hitler in 1939, of the deportations of the eastern Poles to Russia, Russia's responsibility for the Katyn Forest massacre, the annexation of eastern Poland. Personal contacts with the savage, looting and raping Red Army in 1945 still evoke a feeling of hate and superiority.

Inherent in Polish character are individualism, love of personal liberty and the striving to independence. These traits create unreceptive ground for the seeds of totalitarianism.

The Poles see that Moscow wants to perpetuate the Soviet system in Poland by creating a new type of man and a new society. Polish enmity toward the government originates partly from this instinct of self-preservation.

Government's Adherents

Determined followers of the government do not exceed 3 to 5% of the entire population.

Convinced Communists constitute the first group. Their number is insignificant.

The second group are opportunists, loyal to the government for material reasons, and who have gone so far that they can no longer extricate themselves.

Before the socialist-communist merger in December 1948, there were radical socialists who—although opposed

to the Soviet domination of Poland—agreed with the government's social-economic program. They believed that Poland could exist within the Soviet orbit as an independent state. All of them have lost their positions and influence. Their cases, and that of Vice-Premier Wladyslaw Gomułka prove that Moscow does not tolerate any divergent views.

Positive Views of the Polish Society

Liberation from the Soviet yoke constitutes in itself such a tremendous problem that it obscures all other aims. Moreover the struggle for bare existence occupies the mind and energy of the population.

Yet certain principles and beliefs shape the attitude of the people toward the future. These are not a result of an accepted doctrine or of reasoning, rather a lesson from life and experience.

1). **The principle of national solidarity** emerged from the bitter experiences of war and occupation. Common struggle and common suffering erased class distinctions.

2). **Respect for human rights and dignity.** This is a natural reaction after ten years of violence, persecution and humiliation.

3). **Acceptance of Christian morality as the basis of public and private life.** Occupation by totalitarian, atheistic forces strengthened the traditional Polish devotion to the principles of Christianity.

4). **People's participation in the Government.** Poles ardently desire to become again sovereign in their own country and to establish a true parliamentary democracy.

5). **Devotion to national culture, tradition and historical institutions.** Signs of such devotion are manifold. Books on historical themes are in great demand. Traditional customs and institutions are preserved despite the government's attempts to destroy them. Through the centuries Poland's destiny has been closely linked with the Catholic Church, now the last remaining spiritual, and even material, stronghold of traditional Polish life.

In sum, a general turn has taken place toward a national, Christian, non-class and anti-Marxist ideology.

The Problem of Resistance

The Poles understand that physical resistance in present conditions would only mean further losses and further sacrifices. Therefore people abandoned defense of positions which can only be held by force.

On the spiritual front the real battle is being waged today. The government knows that victory would never be decisive with the spiritual sphere remaining beyond its control.

Here the people resist splendidly: in thousands of Polish homes, after school hours, the parents patiently correct distorted versions of history, literature, political, social and economic life presented to their children by Communist teachers and agitators. Every home has become a spiritual fortress where the treasures, accumulated during ten centuries of Christian history, are being stored and cherished. ("Inside Poland")

"THERE IS ONLY ONE POLICY — MILITARY, ATOMIC AND MORAL STRENGTH"

(Continued from page 3)

world that the United States had assumed the moral leadership of the world.

Now, you ladies and gentlemen can help greatly along these lines, you can write your Congressman and make him know through your organizations and Polish-American Congress, that you will consider the record of candidates for Congress on the basis of whether they will or will not work for the repudiation of these decisions.

There has just been formed a committee of which I am a member, the National Committee for Free Europe. It is representative of all phases of American life, regardless of religion or race. This committee plans to unite persons of foreign origin, exiled leaders of any European country, not on personal politics, not on national politics, but on the basis of anti-communism, and it is our hope that we will be able to unify these leaders and give them the facilities of the Voice of America by radio, press and other means to keep alive among their fellow citizens in Europe the ideals of individual and national freedom, and give them the message of hope and liberation in the future.

Now, if some of you may question the wisdom of a policy which is going to entail the expenditure of billions of dollars which may entirely change the policy of the

United States, let me say, that some of you wonder whether we will bankrupt the United States by building a strong military government, I say, that no price is too much to pay for the preservation of our nation.

In 1940 when President Roosevelt had endeavored to awaken the government to the depredation of another tyrant, he appointed three religious leaders, a Roman Catholic, a Protestant, and a Jew, and he begged these leaders to point out to their flocks that it was not contrary to the laws of God for a nation to fight to cherish its freedoms, to protect its homes and to protect its country. All of these three religious leaders responded well, but the most eloquent comment was made by Archbishop now Cardinal Spellman in a speech he made before the American Legion in Boston in 1940.

If you don't remember my words, I hope you will remember the words of the Cardinal as they are as significant today as they were in 1940. Cardinal Spellman spoke: "It is better to have protection and not need it, than to need protection and not have it. We really cannot afford to be moles who cannot see or be ostriches who will not see. We Americans want peace and are striving for peace, and not for peace whose definition is slavery or death!"

"NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR FREE EUROPE IS AN ESSENTIAL STEP . . ."

(Continued from page 7)

"world order under law, dedicated to peace, security, freedom and the well-being of all mankind," and we pledged ourselves to assist the peoples liberated from the domination of Nazi Germany "to solve by democratic means their pressing political and economic problems."

That pledge has not been carried out. In the intervening years the peoples of Eastern Europe have progressively been deprived of freedom of association, freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom to perform work of their choice. Equality before the law and protection of life and property are denied. Government by representation through free elections does not exist. Meanwhile the people of Western Europe strive to guard their freedoms against a fifth column attack which is without precedent for its lack of principle, its intensity and its range of action. This situation springs from the determination of the leaders of International Communism to dominate the world through the creation of police

states subservient to them. It is that which has frustrated our hopes of peace and increasingly threatens to bring on a third world war. The threat can not be removed and stable peace achieved until the peoples of Europe are once more able to live without fear. Only as the specter of the police state is dissipated can personal liberty and individual security return.

Those people, both behind the Iron Curtain and the refugees in our country and everywhere, look to us who for the moment are the most secure in our freedom. We have made an honorable pledge. Shall we not redeem that pledge? I earnestly believe that the project of this National Committee for Free Europe is an essential step along that essential road. Sound and far-sighted leadership in our world today is absolutely vital, and where we find potential leaders among us, who share our democratic faith, let us do what is in our power to help keep them alive and in full vigor against the day when their leadership may spell the difference between ultimate European peace and stability and European chaos.

TOO MANY PROMISES AND NO ACTION

(Continued from page 12)

bringing about the above matters, as well as helping increased immigration and elimination of red tape (with its accompanying delay and confusion) in obtaining visas.

The problem of students struggling against odds is as serious as their desire for education. A quest for knowledge is noble, but nobler still are those who help

youth realize its aim. Unless Polish Americans resolve upon organized action, Polish students will continue as part of the wasteland of youth, lost because of unfulfilled potentialities and harassed because the bare necessities of food, clothes and shelter are wanting. The burden rests squarely on our shoulders.

WHAT HAPPENS TO MINORITY POPULATION IN USSR

(Continued from page 13)

There are no available Soviet statistics with regard to Soviet planned evacuation of the Russian territories invaded by the German armies. It is only known that entire factories with their equipment and workers, farm equipment and livestock were removed and shipped into the hinterland. The number of people thus evacuated can be judged from statements that occurred in various Soviet and German publications. These indicate that from the territories Russia had illegally annexed and from the lands of the USSR proper, the Soviet Government removed some 12,000,000 people, not including those drafted into the Red Army. Population of the cities of the Ukraine dropped from 2,740,000 to 1,335,000, Leningrad from 3,000,000 to 1,000,000, although in the last-named at least it is difficult to say how many left the city, how many were killed, and how many died of disease.

The vast majority of the millions transferred from the war zone were sent to places in the Urals, to the Siberian-Turkestan railway, to Kazakstan, to Central and Western Siberia and the Far East. The Kremlin has no intention of ever permitting these people to return to their homes. They were to remain in these far distant lands permanently. Sownarkom, the Council of Peoples' Commissars, in 1942 ordered regional authorities to take every measure that would lead to fixing these newcomers for all time in their enforced "colonization."

So does Moscow solve its minority problems.

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